# From clitic to affix: nanoparameters and grammaticalization in Western Iberian

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#### 1. Introduction

"... associating parameter values with lexical entries reduces them to the one part of a language which clearly must be learned anyway: the lexicon." (Borer, 1984: 29)

Many approaches to parameters have been proposed in recent Minimalist theory (ReCos project, Biberauer, et al. 2014; Parameters & Schemata, Longobardi 2005, 2017—cf. Manzini 2019).

I claim that, along with diachronically motivated nanoparameters, emergent nanoparameters exist, as well. These may be provoked by phonological and/or grammar change, resulting in brief periods of grammatical 'chaos' within an otherwise stable synchronic system. In turn, subsequent change must take place in order to return order to the system.

### 2. Nanoparameters

#### 2.1. Parameter hierarchies

Beginning with Roberts (2012) & Biberauer & Roberts (2012), the parameter hierarchy may be described as:

**Macroparameters**: all heads of the relevant type share  $v_i$ 

**Mesoparameters:** all heads of a given naturally definable class share  $v_i$  **Microparameters:** a small, lexically definable subclass of heads shows  $v_i$  **Nanoparameters:** one or more individual lexical items is/are specified for  $v_i$ 

# 2.2. 'Trickle-down' parameters

Biberauer & Roberts (2015) speak of a 'trickle-down' system that may show solid diachronic pathways:

<sup>1</sup> This should not be confused with the concept that all parameters are emergent as proposed by Biberauer & Roberts (2017a), et seq.

Does P(roperty) characterize L(anguage)?

No: MACRO\* Yes: A natural class of heads?

Yes: MACROPARAMETER NO: A natural-class subset of heads?

Yes: MESOPARAMETER NO: A further restricted natural-class subset of heads?

Yes: MICROPARAMETER NO: Only lexically specified items?

NANOPARAMETERS

(modified from Biberauer & Roberts 2016)

Example: Conditional inversion in English (Biberauer & Roberts 2017b)

#### 2.3. The characteristics of nanoparameters

- Diachronically unstable
- Peripheral to overall grammatical system
- Not to be confused with 'lexical fossils'
- Individual language idiosyncrasies

#### 3. Galician presentative complementizers (PCs)

## 3.1. Synchronic observations

- *Velaqui* and *velai* are considered presentative 'adverbs' in traditional grammar (Freixeiro 2006)
  - o However, they show properties that should distinguish them from adverbs
- (1) a. Velaquí te-las chaves

Here have.2SG.PRS-CL.PL.FEM keys

'Here are your keys.'

b. Velaí anda o rapaz

There walk.3SG.PRS the.MASC boy

'There goes the boy!'

(2) Onte vímo-la aí/\*velaí Yesterday see.1PL.PST-CL.SG.FEM.ACC there

'Yesterday we saw her there.'

(3) Aquí/\*Velaquí é onde a atopaches? Here be.3SG.PRS where CL.SG.FEM.ACC find.2SG.PST

'Is here where you found her?'

• I claim that Galician PCs are base generated in C<sup>o</sup> (specifically, Force<sup>o</sup>)

#### 3.2. Diachronic steps

Gravely (2017) proposed that *velai* and *velaqui* passed through four stages of reanalysis:

Step 1: Vé-lo aí vai (Biclausal, prosodically divided)

Step 2: Vé-lo aí vai (Biclausal, not prosodically divided)

Step 3: Velaí vai (Monoclausal; grammaticalization of PCs)

Step 4: Velaí o vai (Monoclausal; emergent C-AGR system)

Modern-day constructions

**My focus**: To account for the derivational differences between Step 1 & Step 2 from an emergent nanoparametric view

#### 4. Enclisis and proclisis in Western Iberian

# 4.1. Raposo & Uriagereka (2005)

#### Enclisis on the verb

- Preverbal subjects/Topicalization (CLLD)
- V1 orders
- (4) O can colleu**no**.

the.MASC dog catch.3SG.PST-CL.SG.MASC.ACC

'The dog caught it.'

(5) Fagámo-lo antes de chegaren do.1PL.IMP-CL.3SG.MASC.ACC before of arrive.3PL.INFL

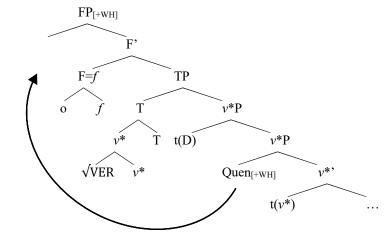
'Let's do it before they arrive.'

#### Proclisis on the verb

- Base-generated complementizers
- Focused XPs ([+FOC], [+WH], xa 'already')
- 'Affected phrases' (ninguén 'no one', alguén 'someone', todo o mundo 'everyone')
- Negation (non)
- (6) Quero <u>que</u> **me** deas un bico want.1SG.PRS COMP CL.1SG.DAT give.2SG.SBJ a.MASC kiss 'I want you to give me a kiss.'
- (7) Xa llo dixeches? already CL.3SG.DAT-CL.3SG.MASC.ACC say.2SG.PST 'Did you already tell him?'

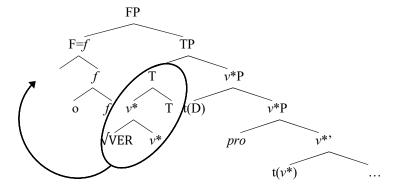
Building off of the original work by Uriagereka (1995), R&U make the following proposals:

- Clitics move to a morphologically 'active' left peripheral head (*f*; equivalent to Fin (cf. Gupton 2014)).
- FP is a syncretic projection (able to host focused and topicalized XPs; cf. Fernández Rubiera (2013) for arguments against this).
- The enclisis-proclisis alternation is dependent on the locality of left peripheral material:
  - Any focused material ([Spec,FP]) or local left peripheral heads (i.e., complementizers) may serve as a host.
  - Otherwise, the derivation is saved by a Last Resort 'verb swallowing' movement.
- (8) Quen o viu? who CL.SG.MASC.ACC see.3SG.PST 'Who saw it?'



• The derivation detects an XP with a feature low in the phrase marker that needs checked, ultimately provoking movement to the left periphery and being able to serve as a host for the clitic; therefore, the verb complex remains in T.

(9) Viuno ela See.3SG.PST-CL.SG.MASC.ACC she 'She saw it.'



• Upon merging the clitic in f, the derivation detects neither further feature-based movement of any XP nor any lexical material left in the derivation that may serve as a host; therefore, the verb complex in T is 'swallowed' in order to salvage the derivation.

## 4.2. Enclisis & proclisis in diachronic data (TILG Corpus)

Based on this divide, we see that data corresponding to Step 1 is borne out:

# No preverbal constituent

(10) Vé-**los** aí van po-la barca todos... see.2SG.PRS-CL.PL.MASC there go.3PL.PRS by-the.FEM boat all.MASC 'You see them, there they all go by boat...'

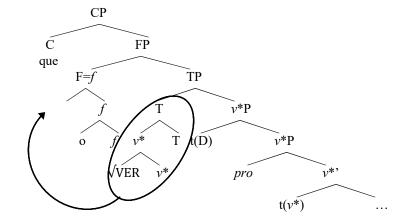
## **Topicalization**

(11) ... i  $[T_{Op}$  as cardas de lá] vé-**las** eli'stán ... and the FEM cardings of wool see.2SG.PRS-CL.PL.FEM there-be.3PL.PRS '... and the wool cardings, there they are.'

Evidence for Step 2 comes from data that shows seemingly forced enclisis in proclitic contexts:

(12) Meu meniño, come... e xa ve-**lo** aí
My.MASC boy eat.IMP and already see.2SG.PRS-CL.3SG.MASC
vai correndo
go.3SG.PRS run.GER
'My boy, eat... and there he goes running away!'

(13) Apartai-vos paso a Xan, que vé-lo separate.2PL.IMP-CL.2PL step to Xan COMP see.2SG.PRES-CL.3SG.MASC aí vén cunha perna de pau! there come.3SG.PRS with-a.FEM leg of stick 'Make way for Xan, here he comes with a wooden leg!'



## 5. Theoretical hypotheses

- Upon considering that the PCs in Step 3 & 4 have no argument structure (e.g. [+V]) and have grammaticalized into complementizers, the movement of the verb in creating the 'forced' enclisis in Step 2 (12-13) reveals two facts:
  - o Grammaticalization of the PCs has yet to take place.
  - O There is still derivational movement within the phrase marker creating this situation (i.e., this is not a 'lexical fossil').
- One of two possibilities arise:
  - o As noted by Fuß (2017), the verb in the output string such as that in Step 2 may be reanalyzed with an [Ā] feature (e.g. [+FOCUS] as this expression became more and more emphatic
  - O Ledgeway (In prep.) claims that deictic adverbs lexicalize high in the T layer. In this instance, we would have a case of interpolation (que o aí ves; lit. 'that it there you see').
    - Complication: Interpolation is frequent in Galician, but this phrase would lose its emphatic interpretation.

#### 6. Conclusions

- Considering Biberauer's (2017) NONE > ALL > SOME approach, the learner converges on the simplest parameter possible per the PLD given.
- Diachronically, it is plausible to see how a class of functional heads  $X_i$  may be specified for feature  $[F_i]$  and, over time, diminish in number.
- Synchronically, these parameters must be set in a lexically individual, "bottom-up" fashion.
  - This is particularly telling when considering emergent grammar changes.
- The notion of 'emergent' nanoparameters gives insight into the idea of grammar change being one of two types of change (Hale 1998, 2007):

Innovation: abrupt grammar change

- » The target grammars that generate the PLD have properties X, Y, Z and properties X, Y, W.
- $\Rightarrow$  The grammar acquired by the learner has properties X, Y, V.

Diffusion: grammar change gradually gaining a wider distribution in a speech community

- » The target grammars that generate the PLD have properties X, Y, Z and properties A, Y, W
- ⇒ The grammar acquired by the learner has properties X, Y, W

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